1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick in fighting; and co-wives, *müriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchimallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[21]

[21] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 72.

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Mapuche masks are simple affairs, usually carved of wood and worn over the face. They always resemble the human face, and never that of an animal or some inanimate object. Sometimes masks are said to represent generalized evil spirits called *wekufū*, but in public ceremonies they may be worn by sanctioned clowns. It used to be customary for each household to have a *koloñ* or two on hand, but this is no more the case, and only a few people still possess masks.

A masker would come to frighten a child by prearrangement with the parents in cases, for example, in which a youngster was known to have the bad habit of wandering out of the house after nightfall. But if a child were unexpectedly troublesome, or had an extended crying spell, any neighboring friend or relative might show up of his own volition.

Frightening a naughty youngster was formerly carried out at two different levels of intensity. In milder cases, when the parents heard a masker coming they would instruct the child to hide in a sack, from which they released him as soon as the wearer of the *koloñ* had departed. If this treatment failed of its effect, a masker would carry off the child in the sack in which it was hidden. He would speak loudly of throwing his bundle into the river or among wild animals, but soon he would pretend to tire and put the sack down, thus giving the child a chance to escape and scamper home.

Nowadays, informal education begins as soon as a child learns to walk and to speak Mapuche. He is taught not to approach the fireplace too closely, never to waste food, and to be honest. During the long nights of the winter season he hears many folk tales that convey moral lessons, tribal legends and beliefs, accounts of military exploits, and cleverly worded songs that cover a wide range of topics.[22] Boys, especially, are encouraged to memorize and sing songs and to learn to speak well and boldly, for oratory and verbal skill are highly regarded masculine accomplishments.

Other aspects of education for small youngsters are left primarily to mothers and womenfolk, since men work in the fields or are away from home much of the time.

[22] Housse, 1939, p. 267; and Titiev, 1949, p. 4.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 866 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

[262 304]

●861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[276]

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

762

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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be photographed and burst into sobs. Her father ordered her to face the camera; she refused to do so and continued to cut grain, sobbing. I suggested that a picture be taken another day, but the father would not hear of it. He spoke kindly and in quiet tones to the girl—he seemed to be explaining things to her. When she again refused, and now wept out loud, he walked briskly toward her, loosened a strap which he had tied about his waist and threatened to whip her. She then moved toward him, but continued to cry. Both got into a position of cutting grain and the picture was taken. The father continued to talk to the little girl in a more kindly tone but definitely one of correction. The following day the mother ordered the same little girl to fetch berets for the younger sister and brother. She did so, but threw them at her little brother and sister, instead of handing them. The father corrected her for this and then remarked to the writer, "That girl has been badly brought up. Her mother and I have talked it over. We do not like to whip her. We shall have to continue talking to her and threatening her. She is simply different from our other children."

828

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

As indicated above, children were taught the mores of the people largely by direct verbal instructions or by listening in. Often instructions were abstract; concrete examples were used when the occasion called for them: a cattle thief who was recently imprisoned was held up as an example of what not to do. Occupations and other activities were learned through nonparticipant observations, imitation in play, and active participation with elders.

861 ●

One unfailing antecedent to all teaching was, and is today, to order the child to give its undivided attention and concentrate on what it was being taught. The parent, or other instructor, made certain that the child had understood this, and did not begin to teach until the child was ready. This intense concentration holds for adults, as well: "When Mapuches really want to learn something, they concentrate upon it intently, and look at it all the while that they are learning it. And then when they have learned it, they will really know it." Having to repeat information is, consequently, resented. Informants, it was found, invariably did so with hesitation and annoyance (cf. p. 66). A non-Araucanian teacher said, "It is difficult to get a Mapuche pupil to recite a lesson that requires repetition, such as history or the multiplication tables. The answer always is, 'I have it inside of me; that is enough. If you would like to know it, you can read it in the book.' They are quite willing to write the material, however, and will do well when doing so."

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861 Teaching is often clarified by means of diagram or demonstration. A 70-year-old man made a diagram of the ñillatun and the machitun on paper when explaining the location of the activities of each. A 38-year-old man made a graphic sketch of mountains and valleys to show the location of land (which was being considered for distribution among the people) that he hoped to obtain for his children. A 60-year-old woman gave a lively and detailed demonstration of the manner in which a marriage was formerly arranged: leaves from an apple tree, in whose shade we sat, represented members of the groom's family; leaves of lettuce from the garden, members of the bride's family; a blade of grass, the messenger, who was not a member of either family. Stem ends, she pretended, did the conversing. She resorted to this demonstration because the writer had asked her to clarify several points of an account which she had given the previous day. She noted with some annoyance that she was having recourse to a method used in teaching children.

863 In occupations the child is taught and made responsible for simple things first and more complicated ones as it grows older. A 70-year-old man said, "As soon as my boys walked, I trained them to pick up sticks and carry them to the fireplace. With this as a beginning, they worked at whatever they could do as they grew older. Whenever they saw me go out to work, they followed me to help me. When they were still quite small, they directed my oxen when I plowed or pulled logs."

Quoting a mother: "I taught my girls from little on how to tend to chickens and pigs, to wash dishes, prepare food, and wash clothes. When a girl is about 12 years old, the mother—or the grandmother, if the girl has no mother or the mother is sick—will say to her, 'Sometime you will be a housewife; in order to be a good one, you must from now on rise early with me, every day.' They rise then, each morning, when the birds begin to chirp; this trains the girl to rise early. The mother from then on teaches the girl one thing at a time and observes and directs her in her work. They sit opposite each other when the girl is learning so that the mother can direct the girl's work. The girl must work diligently. If a visitor comes to their ruka, the mother teaches her daughter how to serve him, and to do things for him." The mother motivates an older daughter by saying to her, "If you are industrious, you will more easily have a suitor; before long then a suitor will come for you. Some day I will die, and then you must know how to do all things expected of a woman. You must learn how to serve a husband well, too." Then in a very serious mien, the informant added: "The mother tells her daughter, too, that she can be a mother. 'I gave birth to you and reared you; you will have

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children too, and you must rear them. If you will train your children as I trained you, you will have no trouble with them.' The mother tells her all this."

Older boys and girls everywhere taught younger brothers and sisters, either by letting them observe what they were doing and explaining the procedure to them, or by letting them help with the work and directing them in it.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

Before the child is able to comprehend, incentives and compulsions used are very simple—indeed, they can hardly be called that. In general, the attention of a small child that is beginning to comprehend is distracted from conduct that is not conforming to accepted standards by saying "hstch" to it, once or several times. This is said in subdued tones. Fathers and mothers and older brothers and sisters were seen correcting small children in this manner. During an interview a mother took into her lap a 2-year-old boy who did much fussing and would not respond to her "hstches." When he continued being restless, she passed him to her husband, where he was quiet for a little while. When he began fussing again, she handed him to his 10-year-old sister, but slapped his legs before doing so. Other children who were noisily playing close by were repeatedly subdued by a "hstch" from her. Any child that is old enough to comprehend and does not heed "hstches" is spoken to in subdued tones, but in a stern voice; always in a disapproving manner. Not once did the writer hear a child corrected in a loud voice.

Old informants said that praise and rewards were seldom given in their childhood days. "To give a girl recognition for what she was, or did, was not our custom; the very fact that a parent was satisfied with her, and with what she did, was enough reward. If a boy's conduct was outstanding, he was rewarded by being sent to a cacique with an important message or with words of comfort to a family in which a death had occurred."

Today, too, a child able to comprehend is expected to do the usual things without praise or reward; extraordinary things or favors are praised and, occasionally, rewarded. Alepúe schoolchildren had been praised or rewarded materially by fathers, mothers, brothers, uncles, and aunts (but not by sisters) for work well done. One of the boys had been praised by his father for reminding him of several things which he, the father, was forgetting to do while they were on a journey. Other rewards received by boys were 10 pesos for tending a horse;

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● 861 14 pesos for going on a trip with an uncle; a turkey hen, by a mother, for tending little turkeys; 2 pesos, by a brother, for helping to find a horse; 5 pesos for weeding the potatoes; 5 firecrackers as a prize for climbing to the top of a flagpole. Rewards received by girls were candy from a brother for weeding the garden well; chocolates from a father for helping him weed the garden; a hen from a mother for tending little turkeys; a turkey gobbler, a chicken, and a pup for helping a mother; a turkey gobbler from a mother for tending little turkeys; and a chicken from an aunt for tending her chickens.

In general a child that has reached the age of complete comprehension, today as formerly, is coerced, when necessary, to conform to behavior standards. Both parents do so by corrections in stern tones, by scolding in angry ones, by deprivations, by slapping the child's hands, and by spankings or whippings. A mother deprived her 8-year-old son of his freedom because he fought with a boy in the neighborhood. She isolated him in a room for a week; not even for his meals was he allowed to leave it. Since the mother would not relent, the teacher sent his reader to him. By the time his mother released him, he was not only able to read all of the book, but also a newspaper that he had found in the room. "When he returned to school," said his teacher, "he was able to read well, something that he was not able to learn in school in two years." A father deprived a 14-year-old girl of a trip as a punishment: "Because I told a lie, I had to stay home when the others went to Villarrica." A 60-year-old father had deprived his children, when they were young, of a meal, on occasions: "Sometimes, when we sat down to eat, some of them complained about the food. My wife would beg them to eat. But I would order them to leave the ruka and forbade them to eat anything until the next cooking."

Regarding corporal punishment, all mothers agreed that a child not yet able to walk should not be slapped or spanked; most of them thought such corrections useless before the child had the ability to comprehend. One mother thought that anything that could be accomplished by slappings and spankings could be accomplished by instructions or scoldings, but her husband believed that even a 2-year-old child was helped by being slapped, but that always the mother should [863] do the slapping—never a man. Small children had been slapped by mothers for soiling themselves after toilet habits had been established, for playing in mud, and for refusing to be dressed.

In general, parents objected to anyone but themselves slapping or spanking their child. A mother told a non-Araucanian who had slapped her son that the boy had a father and therefore needed no one

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else to slap him. In another case, however, a father spanked his son and then asked the boy's teacher to spank him again if he needed it. The man's father hearing of this came to the teacher and voiced his disapproval: "That man has not even the right to ask me, the boy's grandfather, to whip that boy." In another instance a teacher reported a 10-year-old boy to his father for lying and suggested that the boy be punished. To this the father replied, "Maybe the time has come to whip him; I have not done so up to now." Whipping was done with a leather strap. It was administered for a serious offense only, such as lying, stealing, or disobedience. 861

Some informants did not approve of the mother ever whipping an adolescent or older son; they were whipped by the father with a rawhide for offenses such as disrespect or disobedience. "A young man sometimes ran away from home when he knew there was a whipping in the offing, although he knew that he would surely be whipped on his return home. A son obeyed, even when married and when he had grown older, as long as his father lived. And he never answered his father back. Formerly a child accepted a whipping from parents even at 20, and said not a word; today small ones rise up and say that they will not be punished."

Boys of school age had been whipped at home for playing on the way home from school after having been told to come directly home; for not doing assigned work; for chasing cows to a run; for playing instead of weeding the garden; for eating green apples after being told not to. Girls of school age had been spanked or slapped on the hands by the mother for coming home late from school, for hitting a brother, for breaking a father's yerba maté cup and a mother's plate, for inadvertently slapping a brother's nose and making it bleed.

Compulsions, such as frightening, ridiculing, ignoring, mocking, nagging, coaxing, bribing, or comparing with other children in order to bring about conformity in conduct, were rarely used. Nor does it appear that, in general, children were threatened with punishment to be administered by supernatural powers. One man, however, told that his grandfather, "who knew no Spanish or anything about the Christian religion," said to him when he did not obey, "God will punish you for that." "But," the informant added, "it was the same God that punishes now, for the Mapuche always prayed to the same God as we pray to now. We never addressed prayers to idols or trees or such things."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

Araucanian children today have opportunities of attending either private or public schools directed by the Chilean department of edu- 871

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come and say that he saw a bird larger than a condor. But I know the birds around here are no larger than a condor. And so I say nothing. Soon he stops boasting to me. Should a child come to me, however, and lie about something important, I will whip such a child with a rope."

A jealous child is told, "What you are, you are," or "What you have is yours, and you must be satisfied with it; what others have is theirs and theirs has nothing to do with you."

QUARRELING, TALE BEARING, DISOBEDIENCE

Children were instructed not to quarrel. In fact, parents did not allow them to; if they persisted in doing so, they were punished, usually whipped. "When my father instructed us in other things, he also told us not to quarrel."

Quarrels between children in a neighborhood sometimes caused quarrels between their respective parents; just as often no one paid any attention to them. "It is merely children's conduct," parents will say and let it go at that. A quarrel resulted when a child, sibling or neighbor, took something that belonged to another child and did not return it. Sensible parents, it was said, insisted that the thing be returned, and the quarrel thus ended.

Tale bearers were listened to, "since it might be something important that the child was telling." If it was important, the one told on was corrected, sometimes punished; if not, the tale-bearing one was sent away, or the listener walked away from him.

Obedience was demanded by parents of all children; formerly even of adult offspring. A disobedient child was admonished and then punished. "That was formerly; it is not that way today. Formerly, men obeyed when they were 30; today some do not obey when they are only 19," said an 80-year-old woman. She added in a serious mood, "I have seen men 30 years old whipped by their fathers, in former years, because they had disobeyed."

Punishments were usually suited to the gravity of the disobedience. An 85-year-old man, when 10 years old, was whipped with a rope by his father for not bringing home the oxen his father needed; he had played instead. "That was one time that I got a whipping with a rope," he mused. A woman older than 100 years was whipped with a stick when she was about 7 years old because she continued to play and would not answer her mother's call. An eyewitness related that a woman about to give birth sent her 14-year-old son (the only one home) to fetch his aunt. The boy did not return, neither did the

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● 861 aunt arrive, and the woman delivered her baby that night alone. When her husband came home he explained to the boy in no uncertain terms what his duties had been. When the boy would not give his father the reason for not getting his aunt, the father tied a lasso about the boy's neck, threw the end of it over a rafter, and raised and lowered the boy for about a half hour. He finally let the boy down and removed the lasso. The boy fainted. "But his father shook him, and he came to. No, no, the boy did not die; Araucanians do not die so easily. The father made the boy kneel down and beg his pardon and promise never to do anything like that again."

An 8- or 9-year-old child that persisted in disobeying after having been admonished and whipped was thought to have bad blood. Its mother performed the kutákonn on it to remove the bad blood, that is, she pierced a vein at the child's wrist—"maybe with a piece of glass that is as sharp as a needle"—and let flow a small amount of blood.

During an interview an 80-year-old grandmother ordered her 8-year-old granddaughter, who was sitting by idly, listening in, to get her knitting. "That girl has been knitting on that pullover for more than a year," the grandmother noted. Her 10-year-old grandson she ordered to chase back turkeys that were wandering away, and after that to take the sheep to pasture. She complained about the lack of obedience of her 19-year-old grandson. She was displeased with the manner in which he was taking a sheep to the village to be sold—he was transporting it on horseback. "Do not put the sheep in back of you; put it in front of you, so it will have some shade," she called to him. "Why must you leave at this time of day [2 p.m.]? It is too hot to be leaving now." But the young man rode off. Later when she could see him again as he was riding down the mountainside, she remarked: "Why is he wearing his poncho? It is neither cold nor raining! I scold this boy much. He is only 19 and often hesitates to obey. When I scold him he says he is leaving home; but he always comes back and is very amiable when he does come back."

LYING, STEALING, INTOXICATION

867 Formerly, children rarely lied; they were admonished not to, and punishment was sometimes dealt out to liars. "A child that lied and did not correct its lies was called early by the father on the following day and was told, 'Yesterday you lied to me. I do not want you to do that again. I want you to remember that you are not to do that again.' That is what my father told his children, and that is how I

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In the early days stealing from people who lived in the jurisdiction of one's own cacique was taboo; if the cacique was notified of such an act, he ordered the thief to return the stolen thing. Persons, however, sometimes stole from those from another cacique's jurisdiction. Old non-Araucanian men recalled days when a mighty Araucanian cacique from Chile, called Kalfucura, rustled cattle in Argentina from both Araucanians and non-Araucanians and drove them across the Andes to his own lands in Chile. 685

Drinking to intoxication, in the early days, was not the customary thing, according to old informants. There was never enough mudai—the early alcoholic beverage—available for many to drink to excess. Chicha, a later intoxicating beverage, provided greater opportunities for intoxication. Wine has replaced both. Non-Araucanians who have lived in Araucanian areas for 20 or more years lament the recent increase in wine consumption by both Araucanian men and women. Its demoralizing effects were spoken of by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. Generally only persons past 40 become intoxicated. 273

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS, METHODS OF INSTRUCTIONS

Parents were the primary instructors of the child, unless the child was being reared in the home of a grandparent or other relative, in which case these replaced the parents. Both fathers and mothers trained both sons and daughters. "We never attended school, but whatever our parents and elders taught us, or advised us to do, we learned, carried out, and remembered." Methods used were those of direct verbal instructions and of letting the child observe and participate in adult activities and share the responsibilities of work. 861

In general small children grew up without much interference from elders. During interviews they romped about, but were not noisy. When old enough to comprehend, and thereafter, they were instructed verbally in right living. Quoting a man in his eighties: "My father talked much to us children by way of instruction; my mother did so less; she was a quiet person. My father told us among other things not to laugh at the ñillatun [tribal religious ceremonial]; always to be thankful for what was given to us. He told us that there is life after death in another world; that after death a person retains certain powers, but that a deceased person does not have as much power as a living person has; that God has most power of all; that He is mightiest of all. He told us that he dreamed there is a God and that this God knows all that we say or think; that this God is everywhere." 869

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868 Practical work was learned by a child younger than 7 by observation and by participation. A lack of interest or willingness to help was reproved. At about 7 years of age, the child was given certain responsibilities. "Go into the house and tend to your olla, so the soup will not boil over." "I always helped to tend our sheep when I was a little girl." "I began to spin yarn when I was 9 years old." "A boy when 7 or 8 years old is sent to find a horse or a cow that has strayed away, or for hens that are no longer with the others." "Each one of my children has a garden plot. I show them how to plant vegetables, and I teach them to water their garden and to weed it. When I take fresh vegetables to market, I let them take the ones they have grown; with the money they receive for theirs, I let them buy clothes."

At 14 or 15 years of age a boy began to assume the responsibilities of adult work, such as raising cattle, shearing sheep, plowing and planting fields, and harvesting. Fathers were the teachers in this; but "my mother encouraged my brothers to be good workers, to be amiable when working with others, and to be attentive to the work that they were doing." A girl did a woman's work, such as weaving and cooking, at 11 or 12.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

861 It was not customary to reward a child for work well done. However, an occasional parent, especially a mother, did so, usually with something the child stood in need of, more particularly clothing. More often as an incentive the desire of the child to do what was expected of it was aroused. Mothers would say, "When shearing time comes, I know you will be a good help"; or "This is for you; I know you will always be a good child." One informant had interested her teenage daughter in learning Arabic words from a woman whose laundry she was doing. To learn English she had the daughter ask the field assistant's help. The interpreter was asked by the daughter for lessons in German words. When an old woman was shown photographs of Navajo and Blackfeet, she called her grandchildren and explained, "These are Mapuche [indigenous people] from North America."

Compulsions consisted in dealing with a child in a serious manner, that is by talking to it, scolding it, or if necessary, switching it. Often during interviews small children were corrected in earnest words, but not with harsh or hurting ones. The usual expression was, "Look here! Sit down, and be quiet."

A woman in her sixties had not switched any of her children; she had talked to them, giving them good advice, and had scolded them.

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A 40-year-old man believed that incorrigible children came from poorly adjusted families. "If a man from a good family marries a woman from a good family, they will bring up good children. Formerly, it was easy to rear children, so the old people say; and I found it so. I never whipped a child; I talked to each one. It is not easy today to rear children." 961

Spanking a child before it was old enough to comprehend the reason for it was thought to be senseless and even harmful, for it might frighten the child and upset its mental poise. An informant believed that the reason a child that was playing nearby during an interview showed fear of a dog and chickens, and was frightened by a noise—an unusual thing for an Araucanian child—was that it had been whipped without knowing the reason for it. "Such a child gets nervous, and can no longer be managed with words."

Children old enough to comprehend were punished for lying, for answering back, and for persistent disobedience. "My mother hit me over the head once because I refused to learn to weave," said a woman in her sixties; "I preferred to ride a horse and tend the sheep and lasso calves. When I wove, I had to sit and sit and sit. But now that I am old, I am glad I know how to weave; I find weaving a profitable pastime."

Switching was done with a switch (witkha) made either of braided reeds of junquillo or braided thongs of young horse hide, usually about 16 inches long. It was kept at the junction of the rafters and the wall, or the mother kept it tied to her belt. Switching was done on calves and ankles, or on thighs and buttocks, while the child was held between the knees of the one administering the switching. "I was switched by my mother once," said an old woman and laughed at the memory of it. She passed up the question why she was switched, probably because her 13-year-old granddaughter was listening. "Sometimes sons at 30 were switched," she continued; "but in general sons at that age were obedient; nor did they answer back."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

There are 10 state rural schools in the Araucanian country today, intended for Araucanian children; only one area is without a school. When teachers are available, Araucanian children attend well. Most persons older than 20 had attended school only a very short time, if at all. "The teacher liked me and asked me one day why I was not attending school," a 56-year-old man noted, "so I decided to try it. I attended five days, and I learned something each day." "My son 971

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forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the above-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

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beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society. The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a *machi* (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there seem to be no misgivings about the *machi*'s connections with sorcery as is implied for the past. In the Roble Huacho region, one of the few *machis* I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

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It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. 861 [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young. [865]

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations. 853 [595]

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth. 863

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself. 856 [861]

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

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work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father — even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions — especially those concerning the homestead — are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,